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OF THE
S O U L
OF THE
W O R L D;
AND OF
Particular Souls.

I N
A Letter to Mr. Lock, occasioned by
Mr. Keil's Reflections upon an Essay late-
ly published concerning *Reason*.

By the Author of that Essay.

Minut. Fæl. in Octav.
Veritas obvia, sed requirentibus.

Erasmus in Hyperaspist. l. 2.
Verborum umbris territamur, quàm in re nihil
sit absurdi.

L O N D O N,
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T O

J O H N L O C K Esq;

S I R,

IT may seem an improper way of making satisfaction for a former Trouble, to give a new one: yet since you have pardoned the Confidence that made a Present to you of my *Essay* concerning Reason, and that some very sharp Reflections have been published on a part of that *Essay*, I hold my self obliged to send you my Defence of it.

My Intention in this Address is not to engage you in the Protection, or to the Countenance of any *Opinion*, further than as Reason allows it; nor is it to insinuate that you are of mine, to gain it the more Authority: For tho I could not procure a greater Advantage to any *Opinion* I own,

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than to have others perswaded that you are of it; yet I must do you the justice to profess that I am wholly ignorant what yours is, as to the Point in debate.

I only appeal unto you now, as I did at first, as to an *Arbiter* or *Judg*, for which your excellent penetrating Understanding highly qualifies you, without inviting you as a Party to come to my Assistance, which at this time I hope I shall not need.

Mr. *Keil* in the Introduction to his Examination of Dr. *Burnet's* Theory of the Earth, hath done me the Honor (tho I am not sure he designed it for one) to mention me with several very celebrated Persons; but he doth it in that manner, and with that Abatement, that I have no great cause of being exalted on that regard.

After he had instanced in *Spinoza*, Dr. *More*, and Mr. *Hobbs*, as Authors of great Discoveries, which might well demand Esteem and Veneration, if they were real, he picks out some of their Opinions, which he believed the most obnoxious, that by them his Readers may see how well they deserve such a Character. He then adds, "But a new Philosopher (naming me, who am not ambitious of that Title) "has much outdone "any I have yet mentioned, in a Book "lately printed concerning Reason; there "he

and of Particular Souls. 5

“ he assures us that there is but one universal
“ Soul in the World, which is omnipresent,
“ and acts upon all particular Organized Bo-
“ dies, and makes them produce Actions
“ more or less perfect, in proportion to the good
“ Disposition of their Organs. So that in
“ Beasts that Soul is the Principle of the sen-
“ sitive and vital Functions; in Men it does
“ not only perform these, but also all other ra-
“ tional Actions: just as if you would suppose
“ a Hand of a vast Extention, and a prodigi-
“ ous number of Fingers, playing upon all the
“ Organ-pipes in the World, and making eve-
“ ry one sound a particular Note, according to
“ the Disposition and Frame of the Pipe: So
“ this universal Soul acting upon all Bodies,
“ makes every one produce various Actions,
“ according to the different Disposition and
“ Frame of their Organs. This Opinion he
“ as confidently asserts to be true, as other
“ Men believe that it is false; tho it is im-
“ possible he should any other way be sure
“ of it but by Revelation; and I believe he
“ will find but few that will take it upon
“ his word.

Mr. Keil, I hope, will give me leave to
tell him without offence, that the Represen-
tation of my Opinion, had he pleased to
make it in my own Terms, would have
been less invidious, and withal more just
than

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than it appears in his. However, since he hath endeavoured by a *Comparison* to illustrate, or else to expose [for I cannot well resolve which 'tis] the Sentiment I own, and that this Comparison is capable of being applied unto it to good purpose, I will my self make use of it my own way.

But first I must give a Plan of my true Notion, which in short is this; That the Mosaical Spirit (called *Gen. 1. v. 2.* the Spirit of God) being a Spirit of Life, and present every where, in all the Parts of the Universe, is the Original of all the Energy, Motion, and Action therein, especially of that which is Animal. And that particular *Souls* [for such I acknowledg there be] are Portions of that Spirit acting in the several particular Bodies in which they are, according to the Capacities, Dispositions, and Qualities of those Bodies. A Sentiment conformable to two received Maxims: *Quicquid recipitur, recipitur ad modum recipientis. Actus activorum sunt in patiente disposito.*

To make it imaginable, let us suppose a vast Organ, consisting of innumerable Pipes of different Sizes and Fabrick, and this Organ to be filled with Wind blown into it, and the Wind to be received, and some portion of it appropriated by each particular

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lar Pipe : Imagine also innumerable Fingers playing upon those several Pipes : For then each particular Pipe being played upon, will, by means of the Wind, be made to sound a particular Note, differing from the Notes of all the other Pipes, according as its Qualities, Dispositions, and Fabrick differ.

The World is as such an Organ [an orderly Aggregate ;] and the several sorts of Bodies that compose it are as the several Pipes of that Organ ; the Mosaical Spirit present every where throughout the whole World, is as the Wind (which is) blown into the Organ. This Spirit is received and apportioned by the several particular *Bodies*, as the Wind in an Organ by the several particular *Pipes* : and as *these* inspired with Wind, being played upon, do sound different Notes or Tunes ; so *those* animated with their respective Portions of the Mosaical Spirit, being impressed and acted upon by Objects, do perform their several vital Functions, according to their several Dispositions and Fabrick.

Thus far the Comparison plainly holds ; but it may be carried a greater length, and made serve to illustrate what I say in my *Essay* concerning the nature of Animals, of Spirits, and of Souls. For it may be added,

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added, that as the power of making an Organ sound at all, or the power of making a particular Pipe to sound a particular Note, arises not solely from the frame of the Organ, or from that of the Pipe; for the Organ sounds not at all, if it be not inspired with Wind, and tho inspired with Wind, and consequently tho it gives a Sound, yet it will not sound to such and such a particular Tune, if it be not played upon with the Fingers. In like manner, the Power of making a Body live, or of any particular Instrument of it exercise any particular Action of Cogitation, as of Seeing, or of Hearing, arises not solely from the frame of the Body, or from that of the particular Instrument, the Eye, or the Ear: for the Body lives not, if it be not animated with some Portion of the Mosaical Spirit; and if it be animated, and consequently hath Life, as the inspired Organ hath Sound, yet it doth not exercise that Life in this or that particular manner of Cogitation, by its several Instruments, as in seeing by the Eye, or hearing by the Ear, if it be not acted upon, and impressed by Objects, any more than an Organ which is only inspired, tho it sound, will sound to this or that particular Tune, if it be not played upon with the Fingers. Thus Life originally comes from
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the Soul : I say, comes *from* the Soul ; for that, speaking properly, it is not *in* the Soul, consider'd as a Soul, any more than Motion is, which properly is not *in* the Soul, but *from* it. And as Life, so Cogitation, which is a Species of Life, proceeds from the Soul, but the Specification of it from the Body. And for the actual exercise of Cogitation in its several Species, whether of Sensation, or of Intellection, it comes originally from the Impressions and Operations of Objects. For *Images* and *Ideas*, that is to say, the Sentiments of the Sense, and those of the Mind or Understanding (they) are nothing but different Modifications of Cogitation ; the former, Modifications of Sensation, the latter of Intellection ; after the same manner as different Notes or Tunes are but different Modifications, or diverse Modulacions of sound.

In this way of conceiving, the Production of *Images* and *Ideas* is more perspicuous and intelligible, as well as more con-natural, than in that of *Malbranc*. which, methinks, in things of Nature, instead of having recourse to natural Causes, doth a little too unphilosophically, too soon repair unto the first Cause, which is the Author of Nature. But (as I said) in the way before set out, the Conception of it is very easy :

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For Images and Ideas being but the Modifications of Cogitation, they are made by Impressions, and made different by different Impressions of Objects upon the Faculties; as Notes and Tunes are made by the playing, and different Notes and Tunes by the different playing of the Fingers upon the several Pipes of an Organ.

This Comparison of the World animated with the Spirit of God, to an Organ filled with Wind blown into it, cannot but be acknowledged to have much of Resemblance and Agreeableness; and the more, if we consider that this Spirit of God is called *Ruach* in Hebrew, a word signifying Wind; and likewise that Pneumatical or Wind-Instruments of Musick are said (tho but metaphorically) to be animated, as I think they are in *Psalms* 150. v. last. For here it is said, *Let every thing that hath Neshamah*; the same Word that is used for the Soul of Man, *Gen. 2. 7.* when God is said to breath into him the Breath of Life: so here, *Let every thing that hath Neshamah*, every thing that is animated with Wind, let every Wind-Instrument (for the Coherence plainly carries it unto Musical Instruments) *Praise the Lord.* And as *Neshamah* comes from *Nasham*, *Anhelare*, to pant or breath, so likewise *Nephesh*, another Word in Hebrew for a Soul, derives

rives from a Root of the like signification, and often stands for Breath, as well as for a Soul.

Nor was this a particular Sentiment only of the Jews, but both the Greeks and Romans were in the same: For in Greek the Name for Spirit is πνεῦμα, and πνεῦμα comes from πνέω to blow; and ψυχή, the word for Soul, derives from ψύχω to breathe. With the Romans, the word for Soul is sometimes *Anima*, sometimes *Animus*; words that come from ἀνεμῶ, which signifies Wind, as in like manner *Spiritus* does from *Spiro*.

When I affirm that [*Anima*] and [*Animus*] are often used promiscuously in Latin Authors, I have good Authority to support it, since Cotta in Cicero l. 3. de nat. Deor. saying, *Quæ magis quam præter Animam, unde Animantium quoque constet Animus, ex quo Anima dicitur*, intimates the same: for there he calls the vital Principle of inferior Animals *Animus*, and in effect says, both that it consists of *Anima* or Breath (which is inspired Air or Wind) and that for this reason the Breath is called *Anima*, because it is to inferior Animals what the *Animus* is to Man; [*Animus ex quo Anima dicitur.*] *Anima* it is *Animus* with a little distinction; *Anima* is the *Animus* or Soul of Brutes, and *Animus* is the *Anima* or Soul of Men;

as in the Holy Scripture, where St. *Paul* speaks of Body, Soul, and Spirit, what he means by Soul may be expressed by *Anima*, what he intends by Spirit by the word *Animus*; the former word importing the sensitive Principle, which is common to Beasts, the latter the rational or intellectual, which is proper to Men.

To clear this Passage further, which I have quoted out of *Cicero*, and the sense I have given of it, we ought to consider that the *Stoicks* held an opinion that all Souls were Fire; and *Balbus* (who was one of them) taking it for granted, is told by *Cotta* that he was too forward in assuming so much; for, says he, 'tis the probable Opinion that the vital Principle or Soul is not Breath only as most think, or Fire only as *Stoicks* think, but a Complex or Result of both; *probabilius videtur, tale quiddam esse Animum, ut sit ex igne atque animâ temperatum.*

It is true *Julius Scaliger* in his 107th Exercitation against *Cardan*, is extream severe upon that wonderfully knowing and learned Man for saying but by implication, that other Souls besides the human were called *Animi*. For *Cardan* having said, *Animi vires præcipuè humani, &c.* *Scaliger* replies upon him, *Quasi verò alius sit Animus ab humano.*

mano. Insinuating thereby, that to hold that every (or indeed that any) Soul might be called *Animus* is very absurd, as in truth it would be, if what he says was well grounded, to wit, that all wise Men did ever understand by *Animus* a Faculty of the human Soul, which he says; tho at the same time he confesses *Cicero* (who, it seems, for this reason he thought not very wise) to be in a different Opinion: *Nam tametsi Cicero* (says he) *Animal ab Animo dictum scribit, tamen hominis proprium Animum, id est, Animæ vim, sapientes omnes intellexere.*

And to lessen *Cicero's* Authority in this particular, he impeaches him of Inconstancy, telling us that at another time, speaking of *Apronius*, he uses such Expressions as do evidently so distinguish between *Anima* and *Animus*, that no room is left to imagine but that he took the latter for only a Power or Faculty of the former. At (says *Scaliger*) *non servabit [Cicero] constantie opinionem invitis doctis viris, ejus enim verba de Apronio sunt, qui non modo Animum integrum, sed ne Animam quidem puram conservare potuisset, ubi aperte Animæ facultatem innuit Animi appellatione.*

But our Hypercritick has not exercised his Talent to advantage in this place: for tho it must be acknowledged that *Animus* is
very

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very often used for a Faculty of the Soul, and not always taken for the Soul it self; yet when *Cicero* says of *Apronius* that he could not *conservare animam puram*, he does not mean by *Anima* his Soul (of which the *Animus*, that he distinguishes from it should be a Faculty) but he understands his Breath, which was impure, foul, and stinking. This is evident from the Orator himself, who in *Verrem lib. 3.* describing this *Apronius*, says of him, that his Breath was so fetid, that, as some affirmed, the very Beasts could not endure its Stink: *Ut odor Apronii terribilissimus oris & corporis, quem, ut aiunt, ne bestia quidem ferre possent.*

In truth, nothing more surprizes me on this occasion, than to find *Scaliger* (a very extraordinary Man, and a great Critick) so positive in this Opinion, that none of the Antients who had any Wit, ever denominated the Souls of inferior Animals *Animi*, or even that of Man *Animus*. For *Seneca* Epist. 113. tells it to *Lucilius*, as the Opinion of the Antients, that the *Animus* is an Animal, for that it makes us Animals; and that *Animals* receive their name from *ANIMUS*: *Quæ sint* (says he) *quæ Antiquos moverint* dicam; *Animal constat Animum esse, cum ipse efficiat ut simus Animalia, & cum ab illo Animalia nomen hoc traxerint.* How-

However (to note it by the by) it must not be said neither that the Antients never gave the name [*Anima*] to the Soul, or that *Anima* of old did only signify the Breath: For tho *Anima* was us'd to signify the Breath, it was so but in a secondary Sense, the Breath being therefore called *Anima*, because the *Anima* or Soul was generally understood to be contained therein, or to consist thereof. This is manifest not only from what is said already, but (to omit others) from a Passage in *Seneca l. de provid.* where *As* he says, *sive haustus ignis cursum Animæ remeantis interscidit, &c.* where [*Anima remeans*] signifies Respiration or Breathing: So he likewise says, *Id quod vocatur MORI, quo Anima discedit a corpore, &c.* For here [*Anima*] is taken for the Soul. But to put it out of question, that even the human Soul is called *Anima* by antient Authors, I need to cite but *Seneca* his 117th Epistle; where, writing of the Immortality of Souls, and saying that the consent of *Mankind* in that point is a cogent Argument for the truth thereof, he uses the word [*Anima*] not [*Animus*] for a Soul; *cum de ANIMARUM æternitate differimus*, says he, *non leve momentum apud nos habet consensus hominum, aut timentium Inferos, aut Colentium.*

I have a fruitful Subject before me, and
could

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could add a great deal more, if I believed it proper ; but it may suffice at this time to have shewed that both *Anima* and *Animus* are Names for a Soul, and that both derive from a Word that signifies Wind or Breath : for this evinces that the Comparison I have made between the animated World and an inspired Organ, is not any remote one, or (as we usually speak) farfetch'd, but very fitting and agreeable.

However, tho this Comparison between the World and an Organ is well enough imagined, and carries much resemblance ; yet since an Organ is but a Machin, and only artificial, and that Animals are Works of Nature, and more than mere Machins, I chose in my *Essay* to illustrate and set out my Notion by Comparisons taken from Nature, as from Sound and Echo, from Light and Colours ; but more particularly from our own Souls, and their different Operations in the several Organs of Human Bodies, by means of their several Faculties.

In that Treatise I have shewed at large, *that there is* a universal vital Principle diffused throughout the World ; and withal have shewed *how* that Principle comes to be singularized, and individuated, so as that there be particular Souls. I have also endeavour'd to satisfy Objections, and have instanced in the Theodosian and Scottish Mon-

Monsters, as sensible Demonstrations of the truth of what I affirm in reference to this Subject.

I have shewed likewise that the Jewish Doctors, many Philosophers, some Fathers, and several Schoolmen, were in the same Sentiment as to the main: for tho perhaps they all agreed not either each with other, or with me, as to particular explications; yet all held a vital Principle that doth permeate the whole World; and that, unto the Universe, is what the Soul of Man is to his Body. And if common Language does signify a common Sentiment, this must be owned to be one. For why else is Man called a Microcosm or little World, but because he is like the Great, and has Soul and Body? And tho this Expression is appropriated unto Man, yet if we believe *Galen*, the Antients held that every *Animal* is a Microcosm, a World in little; and then surely, in their Opinion, the World it self is, after a sort, an *Animal* in Great.

Upon the whole it is evident, that for any to imagine I exclude particular Souls, because I do affirm a general (one,) is to do me injury; and, in effect, the same as to infer that I deny there are Colours, because I affirm there is Light; or that I deny there is Echo, because I affirm there is

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Sound.

Sound. In sum, he might as fairly conclude that all those deny the Powers of Seeing, of Hearing, of Feeling, &c. to be in any *Animal*, who do affirm that the *Animal* has a Soul which is the Principle of those Powers; for those Powers in divided Bodies would be so many Souls, that in the same Body are only so many Faculties of one Soul. This way of reasoning goes on the same ground that *Seneca's* does, when, in another case, he says, *Epist.* 113. *Animal sum & Homo, non tamen duos esse dices: Quare? quia separati esse debent. Ita dico, alter ab altero debet esse diductus, ut duo sint.*

Yet, after all, it has pleased Mr. *Keil* to make a sharp Reflection upon me for this Opinion (but with how much Equity or Candor, our Readers must determine) and he doth it in these Terms.

“ *This Opinion he as confidently asserts to*
 “ *be true, as other men believe it is false; tho*
 “ *it is impossible he should any other way be*
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 “ *he will find but few that will take it upon*
 “ *his Word.*

First he says, *I confidently assert, &c.* As for Confidence, I acknowledg that a Confidence like his in this Reflection, that does only assert but not prove, cannot merit a-
 ny

ny great Commendation: But otherwise I know no fault in being confident of any Opinion, or in a confident asserting of it, (which however I am no way conscious of) if there is reason for that Confidence, and that the Opinion be well grounded.

But this he supposes mine is not; for he says, *I confidently assert, &c. tho it is impossible I should any other way be sure of it but by Revelation.* If he mean it is impossible I should be absolutely sure of it but by Revelation, and that for this reason 'tis a Presumption in me to assert the Opinion, since I am not assured of it that way, he must excuse me if I differ from him. For, in the first place, I will take the liberty to tell him what I believe most others who consider, would upon occasion, that there are many Degrees of a just Confidence, that yet do all fall much beneath Infallibility, or absolute Certainty. Besides, methinks it should content him, as being a sufficient ground of asserting any Opinion, even with Confidence, that there is Reason for the Opinion, tho he that asserts it cannot be absolutely sure of it without a Revelation; especially since Mr. Keil himself, I dare say, will not affirm he had a Revelation for all he confidently asserts in his Book, of which yet he cannot be absolutely sure

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without one; but what there is of Revelation in the Question between him and me, he may be told hereafter, and might have learned somewhat of it from the Essay, where also he might have seen that there was some reason for the Opinion.

And whereas he says, that I *as confidently assert my Opinion to be true, as other Men believe that it is false*: If I should yield him so much, what would follow but this, That if this be all, 'tis only Confidence on either side; I confidently assert it to be true, other men *as confidently believe that it is false*? And when equal Confidence and nothing else is in both the Scales, what shall turn them? But certainly, tho other Men (if but *other Men*) believe an Opinion to be false, that any one affirms to be true, it will not necessarily follow that 'tis false indeed; for if it should, Mr. Keil himself, who writes in opposition to *other Men* (and those very worthy Men) must believe himself in the wrong Box, till he can convince them, ay, and all the rest of Mankind that think otherwise than he does; for till then other Men will believe that what he says is false. Indeed, if my Opinion went contrary to common Sense, and that all other Men, or but all considerate, wise, and thinking
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Men were in another belief, I should be very apt to suspect I was imposed upon by false Appearances; but there is nothing of this in the matter, as will be manifest presently.

Mr. Keil closes up his Censure (for all he says against me is Censure only, not Argument) with telling his Readers his Belief, which is, that *I will find but few that will take the Opinion upon my word.* In truth it is not my desire, as it is not reason any should; nor as it falls out, is there any need they should: for if a Revelation in the Holy Scriptures, if the Authority of some of the most thinking and sagacious Philosophers, and if Reasons taken from the *Phænomena* of Nature, can put any Sentiment beyond the Misfortune of being precarious, mine is safe enough from that Imputation.

As for Revelation, what interest it hath in this Opinion, I have shewed in my Essay from *Genesis* Ch. 1. v. 2. compared with *Psalms* 147. v. 15, 16, &c. which I will not repeat, only I will add that I think it abundantly confirmed by an Evidence I find in the Book intituled, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, where it is said Ch. 1. v. 7. *The Spirit of the Lord filleth all the World; and the same that maintaineth all things hath Knowledge of the Voice.*

This

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This Spirit, as it hath in the Holy Scriptures the Denomination of the Spirit of God, because it comes from him, and is his hand in all his Influences upon the World; so it hath that of the Spirit [or Soul] of the Creatures, whether these be Plants, Sensitives, or Men, as being that Vital Principle that acts and actuates them all. Thus in *Psal.* 104. v. 29. that which is called the Breath of the Creatures, or the immediate Principle that makes them live, and is their Soul, upon whose Departure they are said to die, and to return to their Dust, is, in the 30th verse of the same *Psalms*, called the Spirit of the Lord, which being sent into them, makes them live: *Thou sendest forth thy Spirit, and they live; and thou renewest the face of the Earth.*

This is particularly affirmed as to Man by *Elihu*, *Job* 33.4. *The Spirit of God hath made me, and the Breath of the Almighty hath given me Life:* By *Job* himself, *Chap.* 27. v. 3. *All the while my Breath is in me, and the Spirit of God is in my Nostrils:* And by *Elihu* again more comprehensively, *Job.* *Chap.* 34. v. 14, 15. *If he set his Heart upon Man* [to take notice of him, and remark his Iniquities] *and* [consequently] *gather unto himself his Spirit and his Breath; all Flesh shall perish together, and Man shall*
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turn again unto Dust. Plainly intimating that the Spirit of God (as if it were a common Soul) is the Original Principle of Life and vital Operation in Man, as well as in all things else that have Life. See *Isa.* 42. 5.

The Prophetical Scheme in *Ezekiel*, Ch. 37. concerning the dry Bones, is very pertinent, and full to the same purpose. For when the dry Bones are to be made to live, God is introduced saying to them, v. 5. *Behold, I will cause Breath to enter into you, and you shall live.* And he effects it by the same steps, and in the same manner as he created Man at first. For first he organized Bodies, v. 7, 8. *The Bones came together, Bone to his Bone, the Sinews and the Flesh came upon them, and the Skin covered them above.* But tho the Bodies were organized, yet being not inspir'd, [*for there was no Breath in them*] they were not made to live as yet; and therefore to make them living Bodies, and put Soul into them, the Prophet had a Commission to the MUNDANE SPIRIT to come and animate them, v. 9, 10. *Then said he unto me, Prophecy unto the Wind, prophecy, Son of Man, and say to the Wind, Thus saith the Lord God, Come from the four Winds, O Breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live: So I prophesied,*

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sied, as he commanded me, and the Breath came into them, and they lived. Where it may be observed, that the Spirit that quickneth and giveth Life to those Bodies is compared to inspired Wind or Breath; that this Spirit of Life or quickening Breath is diffused throughout the Universe in all the Quarters thereof; and that it is intirely at the Command and Beck of God: For it is Breath is called upon to come and quicken those Bodies; and it is called upon to come and quicken them from the four Winds; and it is no sooner called upon, but it comes forthwith, and quickens them.

It may also be observed that the Breath or common Spirit of Life, that blew upon those Bodies, as it came upon them all, so it was apportioned by each; for the Breath must be in them: And where the Breath is in all, each hath his Portion of it in particular, and then may say as *Job, Chap. 27. v. 3. All the while my Breath is in me, and the Spirit of God is in my Nostrils, &c.* So long his Breath is in him, as the Spirit of God is in his Nostrils.

Thus every Man hath his own Soul, but this Soul is only a Portion of the Spirit of God that, as a Soul, does permeate the Universe; so that it is (as in *Pythagoras's* Expression, which I find in *Lucretius*)

Ἀπὸ

Ἀπὸ πῶστος Ἀίθερος, a Spark of Ether ; or as others choose to express it, *particula Aura Divina* : which, according to the grounds that I have laid in my Essay, I would render a Portion of Mind in Matter. So much for my Opinion from the *Authority* of Revelation.

As for *that* of Philosophy, I produced in my Essay as Vouchers of my *Hypothesis*, not only the great Philosopher last named, who was Founder of the *Italick* Sect, but also *Zeno*, *Seneca*, *Plutarch*, *Marcus Antoninus*, and *Apuleius*. To all which, from as many as would fill a Volume, I will add a few more.

Thales the Father of the *Ionick* Sect, held (as *Laertius* tells us) that Water was the Principle of all things, and that the World was animated [ἐμψυχον] In which Doctrines (as is very probable) he was instructed by the Mosaick Tradition [of the Waters, and the Spirit that moved upon them] for unto this his *Dogmata* are very conformable.

There are in *Plato* so many Testimonies of a mundane Soul, and his Opinion is so generally known, that it were to overdo to instance Particulars.

I have mentioned *Zeno Cittius* in my Essay ; but seeing he was Founder of the
D Stoick

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Stoick Sect, and that I find in *Laertius*, who wrote his *Life*, a fuller State of his Opinion, and in more particulars consonant to mine than what I have mentioned already, I will produce him again. He then, as *Laertius* tells us, asserted a Mind that permeated every Portion of the World, after the same manner that the Soul in us doth permeate the Body. εἰς ἅπαν αὐτῷ [κόσμῳ] μέρῳ διήκοντος, καὶ ὅσπερ ἐφ' ὑμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς. But through some more, through others less, ἀλλ' ἤδη δι' ὧν μὲν μαλλον, δι' ὧν δὲ ἥττον.] For instance, some, he says, it pervaded only as a Habit [ὡς ἑξίς] as through the Bones and Nerves; but through others as a Mind [ὡς Νῆς], as through the understanding or rational part: [ὡς διὰ τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς.]

This Sentiment of a Divine Virtue that pervaded the whole Universe, was in ancient time so generally received, that even the Tyrant *Phalaris*, in an Epistle Consolatory, written by him to the Children of *Stesichorus* (if indeed he was the Author of those Epistles passing in his name) mentions it as such an one; ἡ γὰρ ἀθάνατος τῆς θεῆς μοῖρα, says he, πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ἔσα, αὐτῇ, &c. which his honoured and very learned Translator renders thus: *Immortalis quippe Deus, quæ per universum diffunditur, mihi nihil nisi*

nisi hæc ipsa harmonia videtur. He is also understood by that excellent Person in his Annotations, to mean the mundane Soul of the Pythagoreans, when in his 104. Epistle, which is to the Inhabitants of *Catana*, he says, εἰς θείας τυχεῖς, ὥσπερ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς φύσεως σοιχεῖα, &c. *Si enim Divinae sortis, quemadmodum cætera naturæ elementa, &c.*

And even *Aristotle*, tho a great Opposer of the Platonick Soul (yet) being prevail'd upon by irresistible Experience (he) in a Paragraph quoted out of him by *Julius Scaliger*, in his 26th Exercitation against *Cardan*, comes somewhat near to my Opinion: For there he affirms, γίνεται δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ὑγρῷ, καὶ τὰ ζῶα κατὰ φύσιν, διὰ τὸ ἐν γῇ μὲν ὑπερχειν ὑγρὸν, ἐν δὲ ὕδατι πνεῦμα, ἐν δὲ τῷ πάντι θερμότητα ψυχικὴν, ὡς τρόπον τινα πάντα ψυχῆς εἶναι πληρῆ. That both *Animals* and *Plants* are produced in the Earth and in the Waters, for that there is, as in the Earth Moisture, so in the Water Spirit, and throughout the Universe an animating [vivifick] Heat; insomuch that after a sort [it is true that] all things are full of Soul.

To those Philosophers I will add the well-known Testimony of a Philosophical Poet, *Virgil Æn.* 6.

*Principio cælum, ac terras, camposq; liquentes,
Lucentemq; globum lunæ, Titaniaq; astra,
Spiritus intus alit, totamq; infusa per Artus
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore mis-
cet.*

Rendered by Eugenius Philalethes thus :

The Heavens, the Earth, and all the liquid
Main, (nian,
The Moon's bright Globe, and Stars Tita-
A Spirit within maintains, and their whole
Mass (doth pass,
A Mind, which through each part infus'd
Fashions and works, and wholly doth trans-
pierce
All this great Body of the Universe.

I begin to be fatigued with the unplea-
sant Drudgery of quoting and transcribing ;
and therefore wholly omitting modern Te-
stimonies, I will add but one more of the
antient, and that shall be from *Cicero*, who
l. 2. de natur. Deor. introduces *Balbus* de-
monstrating

monstrating that all things in the World are subject to a sentient perceptive nature, and are administred and governed by it. This he evidences by shewing, that particular works of Nature have infinitely more of the Beauties of Art and Contrivance than the most noble Productions of Human Skill, and yet that no particular Operation of Nature, for example, the Production of a Vine, of a Tree, or of that of the Body of any *Animal*, can shew as to Conformation, Order, and Situation of Parts, or as to Adjustment and Fitness of them for ends and uses, that wonderful Sagacity, that Subtilty of Invention, or that wise Contrivance that shines with great brightness in the general frame of the World; whence he confidently, but justly infers that the whole World is under the Conduct and wise Administration of a sentient and perceptive Nature, or else that nothing at all is so. *Aut igitur, says he, nihil est quod à sentiente Naturâ regatur, aut mundum regi confitendum est.*

This last Testimony, as it is an Evidence, so it is also an internal Argument; and being taken from the *Phænomena* of Nature, reminds me of what I undertook to do in the third place, which was to shew that my Opinion had Reasons for it in Nature, and ground-

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grounded upon things themselves: And these I will now produce.

The First is taken from the Uniformity even in Difformity, the mutual Relation and the Harmony of Parts that is in the World in its general Fabrick, if it may be allowed to make a judgment of the whole Frame by that of a particular System, which we our selves belong unto: But I will not now insist any longer on this Argument, because it is set out at large in my Essay in many Instances, and the learned Reader will find more in *Nemesius de nat. Humanâ*.

Again, this *Hypothesis* accounts for another *Phænomenon* that cannot be so well accounted for any other way, that whenever any Matter becomes disposed for *Animal* Life, this is presently afforded to it; which how it should come to pass, is easily conceived, on supposal of a mundane Soul, or a Principle of vital Energy diffused every where; but otherwise one must imagine particular Souls, and those too to be Spirits (that are) always every where in waiting for an Office, which is hard to be admitted. I say [and those too to be Spirits] for that 'tis certain that mere corporeal Souls (as some call them) suffice not for Animal Operations, even tho we should conceive
them

them (as those do) to consist of *Flame* for vital Actions, and of *Light* for the sensitive ones: for if Matter be not radically *vital*, and so there be no need at all of Spirit or Mind, and then there is no such thing, it will be absolutely unconceivable how Flame and Light (which are only Matter under greater comminution of its parts of a particular Texture, and in rapid Motion) can of themselves be vital and perceptive, or make other things become so. But to return.

Mr. *Lewenhoec's* Experiment of pepper'd Water, every Drop whereof affords (as he says) so many thousands of Animalcles, is a sensible Demonstration of an omnipresent vital Principle that acts as occasion is; and a sensible Demonstration too of spontaneous *equivocal* Generations: for so I call the Productions of *Animals* that do not come from Seeds in the common Acceptation of this word. I acknowledg it almost a Scandal but to name *equivocal* Productions at this time, they are now so generally disbelieved and exploded; but for my part, I am not ashamed to confess that as yet I have not observed so much said by the excellent *Redi*, or by any other Author against the Reality of them, as to oblige me to depart from a Sentiment that hath

hath been the common Belief of most Inquirers into Nature, in all Ages before this last. And the *Hypothesis* of a mundane Soul will make Productions of that kind conceivable ; without which indeed it will be hard to apprehend how they can be.

Dr. *Cox*, in a Process of extracting volatile Salt and Spirit out of Vegetables, which is described in the Philosophical Transactions, intimates this Observation ; That many of the Herbs putrefied and fermented after his way, did swarm with Maggots, especially at the Bottom, and in the Middle, where (he tells us) Flies and other Insects could have no access to deposit their Eggs, and where the Heat is so violent that they could not possibly subsist. Some years after that learned Person, I find another, the experienced *Juncken*, in Processes of much a like nature, making the like Observation, that in the Putrefaction and Fermentation of the Vegetables, great numbers of Insects and little Animals were generated, tho (as he says) the Vessels were never so close stopp'd : And indeed it is commonly observ'd that Putrefactions do terminate in Animals of one sort or other.

The

The Relations of Barnacles, that are said to be Birds arising out of the putrefied Relicks of shipwrack'd Planks, which Relations have been confirmed to me by an Eye-witness of unsuspected Credit, are further confirmed by the Testimony of an Eagle-eyed Philosopher, who tells us he hath seen a Creature of that kind; for so I understand *Julius Scaliger*, when in his 59 Exercitation against *Cardan*, he says, *In Oceano Britannico magis mireris ignotam avem, anatis facie, rostro pendere de reliquiis putridis naufragiorum, quoad absolvatur, atque abeat quæsitum sibi pisces, unde alatur: hanc quoq; vidimus nos.*

To the former Story *Scaliger* in the same Exercitation adds another, which he calls miraculous; it is of an *Oyster-shell* not very great, that was presented unto *Francis King of France*, and contained in it a little Bird, almost finished with Pinions, Feet, and the Bill, sticking to the Extremities of the Shell. This Bird he says, some Learned Men believed a Transformation of the *Oyster*. His own words are these, *Singularis nunc miraculi subtexenda historia est, ubi de aquis agimus. Allata est Francisco regi opt. max. Concha non admodum magna, cum aviculâ intus penè perfectâ alarum fastigiis, rostro,*

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stro, pedibus, hærente extremis oris ostraci. Viri docti mutatum in aviculam Ostreum ipsum existimarunt.

My Lord Bacon, in his natural History, Century 4th, Exp. 228. tells us, That if the Spirits be not merely detained, but protrude a little, and that Motion be confused and inordinate, there followeth Putrefaction, which ever dissolveth the consistence of the Body into much inequality, as in Flesh, rotten Fruits, shining Wood, &c. and also in the Rust of Metals; but if that Motion be in a certain order, there followeth Vivification and Figuration, as both in living Creatures bred of Putrefaction, and in living Creatures perfect: But if the Spirits issue out of the Body, there followeth Desiccation, &c.

In Experiment 339. his Lordship further tells us, that all Moulds are Inceptions of Putrefaction, as the Mould of Pyes and Flesh, the Moulds of Oranges and Lemmons; which Moulds afterwards turn into Worms, or more odious Putrefactions, &c.

And methinks the Production of Plants without Seed affords a very weighty Argument

gument for the like Production of *Animals*. My Lord *Bacon* gives us many Instances of the former in the 6th Century of his natural History, where he tells us, Experiment 563. That it is certain that Earth taken out of the Foundation of Vaults and Houses, and Bottoms of Wells, and then put into Pots, will put forth sundry kinds of Herbs: but some time is required for the Germination; for if it be taken from a Fathom deep, it will put forth the first year, if much deeper, not till after a year or two. And in the 565th Experiment adds, that the nature of the Plants growing out of the Earth so taken up, doth follow the nature of the Mould it self; as, if the Mould be soft and fine, it putteth forth soft Herbs, as Grass, Plantane, and the like; if the Earth be harder and coarser, it putteth forth Herbs more rough, as Thistles, Furs, &c.

Scaliger in his 323^d Exercitation against *Cardan*, speaking of the Production of Frogs, that sometimes have been rained in great abundance, of which there he gives several Instances, tells *Cardan*, who affirmed them to be bred of Frogs-Eggs or Spawn, that they were spontaneous or equivocal, as being Productions of a gene-

ral Nature, and not seminal ones ; which kind of Animal Productions he evinceth to be possible the same way that I have, by shewing that there are the like in *Plants* : *Quid multa*, says he, *nonne quotidiana fœtura cœlestis genii, quæ natura est potentiam declarant Plantæ, nullis ortæ seminiis ?*

My Lord *Bacon* assures us for a certain truth, that *Toads* have been found in the middle of a Free-stone, where it cannot be imagined that an *Animal* of that kind should come and lay her Eggs ; and I have been credibly informed that very lately a living Toad was found in the Heart or Middle of a large Oak when it was felled.

The *Animation* of Horse-hairs lying in the Summer time in Pools, has been observed of many, some of which I have discoursed concerning it ; and an understanding Man of my acquaintance assured me, that more than once he hath made an Experiment which very much confirms the truth thereof. He takes a Hair with the Root, pluck'd from the Main or Tail of a Mare that is proud, and in a warm Season puts it into a wooden Dish full of Water, where letting it lie two or three Days, the Hair in that space will, for the most part, become

come quickned with a strong Motion, and a Head like that of a Serpent grow out of its Root.

The infectious Water of the Showers that accompany the Tornadoes on the *African* Coast, standing any where, do (as Mr. *Terry* tells us in his Relation of a Voyage to *East-India*) presently bring forth many little offensive Creatures; which is likewise affirmed by Mr. *Herbert*.

The *Vermination* in Human (as well as other Animal) Bodies, of which there are innumerable Instances in Medical Writers, as in *Bartholinus's* Centuries, in *Borellus's*, in *Tulpius's* Observations, &c. is another weighty Argument for spontaneous Generations; but I will mention only one: A Worm of an unusual Figure, with the Head of a Serpent, found in the left Ventricle of the Heart of a Gentleman, whose name was *John Pennant*. The Relation well attested, together with the Figure of the Worm, was in the year 1639. printed at *London* by one *George Miller*, to which Relation I refer the Reader. This *Phenomenon* of Vermination is a good Evidence of SPONTANEOUS GENERATION; and this a weighty Confirmation

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tion of the Existence of a *mundane Soul.*

Another Argument for it may be taken from the Difficulties that the admittance thereof will remove, as to the Production of Human Souls; which some conceive to come, as they express it, *ex traduce*; not indeed by way of Education from the Power of the Matter, for they acknowledg no such Power therein, but by propagation. But others think them immediately created by God, either all at once, as those do who hold the Doctrine of Præexistence, or (as most imagin) on occasion, according to the exigence of Matter.

As for the first Opinion, that of Tradition, I find it in *Nemesius lib. de nat. human. cap. 2.* where he tells us, it was the Sentiment of *Apollinarius*, that Souls do propagate Souls, as Bodies do Bodies; and *Julius Scaliger* concurs with him, affirming that Souls may come from Souls, *ut lumen de lumine*, that is, that Souls do propagate one another, after the same manner as Candles light one another. *Poiret* believes as the two former, that Souls are propagated, but extends the business of Propagation somewhat further than they do, and upon other Grounds. For in his *Cogitata.*

gitat. rational. l. 1. c. 5. in Annot. he affirms that all things are Prolifick, and that as Matter produces Matter, and Motion is productive of Motion, so in like manner one Soul or Spirit may generate and produce another.

But there are many Difficulties in this Opinion, of all which I will insist on this only ; That a Soul, if it be an immaterial Substance (as most conceive it to be) is as incapable of Propagation (otherwise than by a Metaphor) as it is of Discerption or actual Division. For even the Propagation of Light is by Discerption ; some *Effluvia* or Emanations of the enlightning Candle passing into that which is lightned. And for the Propagation of Motion, the way thereof is so obscure, it cannot afford Light to this Subject. Only this is certain, that in local Motion derived from Body to Body, so much of it as is imparted unto one, departs from the other ; which (I suppose) will not be admitted in the Propagation of Spirits. And as to the Prolifickness of Matter, I should think but few will allow thereof, who consider, that there is no more of Matter in the World now than ever was, and that Matter is ingenerable and incorruptible, being a Subject of
all

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all substantial Mutations, but not the *Term* of any : So that if the Generation of Souls has no other, or no better Foundation than this, That Soul is productive of Soul, as Matter is of Matter, I conclude the belief thereof will never become general with knowing Men.

As for *Creation* of Souls (an Opinion generally held by Divines, and among our late Philosophers, particularly embraced by *des Cartes*) many Objections lie against it ; of which I will touch but one or two, as sticking most with me.

The first is, that it seems a little unphilosophical to call in a supernatural Agent for a Business and Work of Nature, such as is (if any is) the Propagation of Kind : My full consent is with *Julius Scaliger*, when he says *nihil quod est in naturâ præter naturam est* : Nothing is in Nature that hath not a Cause in Nature.

Again, it may be further argued, that if human Souls are immediately created by God, it must be admitted that those of Beasts are so too, since nothing can be clearer, even to Sense, than that Men and Beasts do propagate their kinds the same way,
whether

whether that way be by Creation, by Tradition, or by any other whatever. There is in Mankind, as well as in the kinds of Beasts, a Distinction of Sexes for the Business of Generation; a Furniture and Disposition of Organs for it in both; and in both a like Use and Application of Organs. All Men and Beasts are alike conceived in their respective Wombs, alike nourished and augmented, and both come out in the same manner: and therefore there being the same Evidence, it is but reason to make the same Conclusion for both.

I know this Argument will have but little effect upon *Cartesians*, who, against the testimony of Sense, believing that Beasts are only Machins, without any conscious Perception or Knowledg, do not own them to have Souls as Men have, in the proper Sense of the Word. But yet it cannot want its due Weight with all others, who, believing their own, refuse not Senses unto Beasts; as thinking they have reason to conclude that Beasts see and hear, &c. as Men themselves do, because they have Eyes and Ears, &c. as Men themselves have, and, to all appearance, make the same use of them upon occasion, as Men themselves upon the like would do. And all these will find the same

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reason

reason to infer that Men and Beasts beget their like the same way, because there are the same Appearances to make us think they should.

These Appearances are obvious, and they ought to be considered; nor are they capable (I think) of being solved, or the other Difficulties, that do lie in both the ways of Creation and Traduction, capable of being removed otherwise than on the *Hypothesis* I have proposed, by acknowledging a Mundane Soul, that, according to the Exigence and Disposition of the *Matter*, is always ready with a Portion of it self to animate and actuate it; so that there is no need of any new Creation, of Præexistence, or of any Traduction of particular Souls. But to proceed.

There is another *Phænomenon* very obvious, that is better solved on this Hypothesis of a mundane Soul, than it can be on any other; to wit, that certain *Animals* do move and stir, and give other Tokens of Life and Sensation, tho cut in several pieces, such as Eels, Snakes, Earthworms, Butterflies, &c. This in the common way is hard to be conceived, since it must infer either that there is a Discerption and actual Division

sion of Souls, of which, if Souls be immaterial, they are absolutely incapable; or else that vital Effects may remain in being after that the Soul, which is the next immediate Cause of those Effects, is departed; contrary to the Maxim, *Sublata causa, tollitur effectus*.

But the Reason of this *Phenomenon*, if we suppose an universal mundane Soul, will be very plain: for since the Parts of those divided Animals do retain for some time the same Qualities and Dispositions that they had before their *Separations*, there not being in them, as in *those* of other Animals, that sudden Dissolution of the Texture, or of the Spirits; it follows that they must receive the same Influences which they had before from the mundane Soul, and consequently, that for some time they must continue to live, and in convenient Circumstances would longer; for like Reasons as the Parts of Vegetables do, which, tho separated from their Wholes, yet continue to live in Slips, in Buds, in Grafts, when inserted into other *Wholes*. Nor do I see but that the Parts of *Animals* might be inoculated, or ingrafted into Animals, as well as those of *Vegetables* are into Vegetables, if the Qualities and Dispositions of Animal Parts, when separated,

ed, could be as well preserved as those of Vegetables, and a Coalition of them as well made : a Sentiment that is confirmed by the Experiment of *Taliacotius*, and by all the others that the *Chirurgia Curtorum* affords.

Thus I have instanced in a few *Phænomena* of Nature, to which I might have added many others of a higher Quality ; but these sufficiently confirm my *Hypothesis*, against which I cannot imagine any Objection of moment, capable of being rais'd, except this, that it does seem to render the Distinction between human and inferior Souls less conceivable, and in consequence the Immortality of the former.

But this Objection will soon vanish, if we but suppose there is a firm and indissolvable Union between the Spirit of God and its Vehicle in *Man*, and that there is not the like Union between it and its Vehicle in *inferior Animals*. And this Supposal is not without ground. For such a firm indissolvable Union betwixt the Spirit of God and its Vehicle, must be admitted to be in *Angels*, if they are (as they are) immortal ; and then the Ligament or Bond of that Union, provided it be natural, must consist in a natural, but a naturally immutable,

table, Congruity. Now the System of Spirits, that in Man is the Vehicle of the mundane Soul, must be owned to have more Alliance unto that of Angels than the Vehicles of it in inferior Animals have, if we consider the advantage the Human Understanding hath in excellency of Operations, above the Imagination of Beasts; and also consider that the Souls of Men are capable of the Divine Image, which those of Beasts are not: for thence it will evidently follow that the former have more of a natural congruity to the Spirit of God, which is the Soul of the World, than the latter have; those as to their Vehicles being of a celestial, but these of a terrestrial and an elementary matter. No wonder then if the Spirit of a Man when he dies, goes upward, but that of a Beast goes downward.

Thus Sir, I think I have evinced from the holy Scriptures, and from several *Phænomena* of Nature, that there is a Principle of Life diffused throughout the Universe; and I have likewise evinced that it was the Sentiment of many great Philosophers: so that tho I am not very fond of any Opinion, I hope I may say of this, without Injustice to Mr. *Keil*, that what he hath offered in contradiction to it, does in no degree impeach its Credit, or lessen mine for
asser-

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asserting it. However I do own I am obliged to that ingenious Gentleman for the occasion he hath given me of further explaining and confirming my *Hypothesis*, and thereby too of professing a second time before the World, that

I am with the greatest Respect,

S I R,

*June 13.
1698.*

Your Devoted

Humble Servant,

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